THE IMAGE IN THE VIEWER'S HANDS: THE RECEPTION OF EARLY PRINTS IN EUROPE

Author(s): David S. Areford

Source: *Studies in Iconography*, 2003, Vol. 24 (2003), pp. 5-42

Published by: Board of Trustees of Western Michigan University through its Medieval Institute Publications and Trustees of Princeton University

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23923674

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms

and are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Studies in Iconography*

This content downloaded from 134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

THE IMAGE IN THE VIEWER'S HANDS: THE RECEPTION OF EARLY PRINTS IN EUROPE

David S. Areford

For the discipline of art history, in which the medium of printmaking has always had a marginal status, the earliest printed images pose especially vexing problems. Like many of the visual products of the late medieval period, the formal qualities of these images often challenge standard definitions of artistic media, as well as post-Renaissance notions of aesthetic beauty. Although they are officially the result of mechanical reproduction, there often appears to be nothing uniform about fifteenth-century prints. In fact, early prints are often highly variable, untidy, even messy objects.[1] In many ways, these images assert a hand-crafted quality that has been difficult for print scholars to appreciate. Although each began as a fixed design cut into a wood block or metal plate, the earliest procedures for transferring the image to the usually paper ground involved stamping, pressing, or rubbing by hand. Such techniques could yield beautiful and formally accomplished prints, but most surviving examples suggest that there was not a great concern on the part of producers to make a perfect impression of a given image.

The untidiness of many early prints is the result of another step of the production process—the hand-coloring of the image. It comes as a surprise to viewers today (who are more familiar with the graphic aesthetic of famous Renaissance printmakers such as Albrecht Dürer and others who used a complex hatching technique to create coloristic effects and modeling) that in its first century the printed image was typically painted with bright colors. For example, a German woodcut of the Madonna and Child on the Crescent Moon, ca. 1440–60, has been painted with watery pigments in four hues—yellow, to accent the stars, mandorla, crowns, and halos; pink, for the skin of the figures; green, for the landscape setting and the flower held by Mary; and red, for Mary's garment (Fig. 1).[2] This last color was painted in a thin layer that puddled on the surface of the paper and, at some point (perhaps when the print was hung up to dry) dripped from the figure's right elbow and beyond the woodcut's frame. With this messy drip of paint, the print asserts itself emphatically as a multimedia production, part printed image and part painting. Another mid-fifteenth-century German woodcut, St. Dorothy and the Christ Child,

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 1. Madonna and Child on the Crescent Moon. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. H. 47. (Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

includes further additions to the print surface (Fig. 2).[3] Besides the red and green coloring that predominates, the woodcut also includes gold leaf (actually a mixture of gold and silver leaf called *Zwischgold* that has darkened because of oxidization), which accents the halos of the figures. As with other early prints, the combination of gold leaf and colored pigments is designed to simulate manuscript illumination. The woodcut's other decorative details—the flecks of gold leaf in the tree (and originally the centers of the border flowers) and the tiny quartz crystals sprinkled with gold glitter that make up Dorothy's dress—are also attempts to simulate another medium, specifically the look and texture of embroidered and woven textile designs.[4] Like the "dripping Madonna," this woodcut forces us to question any idea of the print as a stable and consistent medium. Beginning with its material strata, the early printed image reveals that it is not the product of one instantaneous moment of artistic creation but the result of multiple steps, probably often multiple hands, and an accumulation of meaningful layers.[5]

In terms of its hybrid, multimedia character, the early printed image is similar to other medieval art objects, such as manuscripts, altarpieces, reliquaries, and devotional sculpture. Such composite artworks are often seen as problematic by art historians, for whom the goals of stylistic analysis are thwarted by what are considered distracting and unfortunate additions to the "original" image. In *The Visual and the Visionary*, Jeffrey Hamburger neatly summarizes the problem through a discussion of a small fourteenth-century German devotional statue of the Madonna and Child. The sculpture is illustrated by two photographs. In one, the wooden statue is complete with a crown and clothes of Italian silk made by nuns; and in the other, the figures have been stripped of their finery.[6] Side by side, the images present a kind of fashion makeover, before and after art history has intervened; for as Hamburger suggests, the "naked" statue is reduced to a formal and "original" purity, the ideal way traditional art history prefers its objects. Yet this procedure of stripping away is anachronistic and takes us far from the object's late medieval function and meaning. As Hamburger puts it: "In these objects, the work of art becomes a work in progress, one whose reception literally obscures its production in the form of layer upon layer of cloth and devotional jewelry. Each one is a cumulative, collaborative work of craft that challenges modern . . . conceptions of the work of art as an isolated and organic entity, complete and untouchable."[7]

For the most part, these same words can be used to describe early printed images. Like devotional statues, many of the ungainly material aspects of early prints represent important layers of reception that are still intact—layers that can serve as evidence of how an image was used and what it may have meant. Unfortunately, these untidy additions have only led to the view that early woodcuts and metalcuts

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 2. St. Dorothy and the Christ Child. London, British Museum, A 80. (Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

are aesthetically unsophisticated, as well as conceptually stunted by their "popular" devotional function.[8] Nevertheless, such views did not hinder the avid collecting and cataloguing of fifteenth-century prints during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But in the hope of answering basic questions of dating and localization, print scholars and connoisseurs usually chose to ignore the layers added to the image in favor of a strict stylistic analysis.[9] And amazingly, in the quest to form collections, early prints were removed from the very contexts in which they had been preserved for hundreds of years—manuscripts and early printed books. Today, most of these prints have been cleaned up, trimmed, matted, and framed like any other two-dimensional art object. But the context in which they survived and their added layers reveal the degree to which medieval images differ from the self-sufficient artworks of the modern era. The medieval image was never an end in itself; rather it was designed to help the viewer move from a material to a spiritual level, often prompting performative responses that left lasting traces on the surface of the image.

Most of the various surface decorations of early prints are the result of the initial production process. Much more revealing is what happened when the image reached the viewer. As with other medieval art objects, the moment of a print's origination was not always the most decisive factor in shaping its meaning and function. Although a print may have been produced and sold in connection with a certain pilgrimage site, or to duplicate a miraculous image, or to secure a specific indulgence or protection, the portability of the image and its usual acquisition by an individual viewer meant that it was ultimately up to one person to give the image a context and meaning—on the wall of a home, in the lid of a box, or, most important to this study, in the pages of a manuscript. Also, it is evident that many prints were reused in several contexts, so that they were involved in a series of different functions and meanings that accrued over time. This focus on the viewer's role in shaping the viewing experience is somewhat different from what I have argued elsewhere, specifically that in its first century the printed image was exploited as a reproductive technology inherently suited for spreading information to a broad audience because its messages were heightened by an aura of authenticity and precision.[10] Here, I want to suggest that the early print medium was responsible not only for a new kind of visual culture of mass-produced and standardized images, but was simultaneously something equally radical—a redefining or heightening of the viewing experience itself that enabled an almost interactive play between viewer and image. The result was a creative devotion in which the printed image was transformed in the hands of the viewer.

Perhaps most explicitly connected to the viewer (and his or her hand) is the writing found on many early prints.[11] In its simplest form, this marking of the printed

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

image consists of short inscriptions that identify the subject matter. For example, a German woodcut of the Last Judgment, ca. 1475, is inscribed twice "Jungstag ist kommen" (The Day of Judgment is come), repeated perhaps to echo the blasts of the two horn-blowing angels in the image.[12] The most common examples are prints of saints discretely labeled in the margin or near the head of the figure ("St. Dorothy," "St. Sebastian," etc.). The addition of text can be more intrusive, however, as in a woodcut of St. Jerome and the Lion, ca. 1430 (Fig. 3).[13] Here, the print is inscribed with the name of the saint three times, once with "Sancte Geronime" (in black on either side of the halo) and twice "Ieronime" (in large black letters and in red in the upper right corner), and the saint's name appears again in two handwritten pleas in Latin: "Sancte Geronime ora pro me . . ." beside the figure's shoulder and "O Sancte Ieronime ora pro me . . ." (Saint Jerome, pray for me) on the right hand page of the open book.[14] These requests for intercession, of course, make explicit the use of the image as a tool of prayer for an individual viewer. In addition, the repetition of the saint's name and the multiple hands (four or perhaps five) in which the inscriptions are written suggest that each successive user of the woodcut felt it necessary to mark the image personally in order to activate or complete it. One could argue that the print demanded this, since other kinds of religious images often included an inscription of some sort. Indeed, the depicted book with its empty pages seems designed specifically to prompt the viewer to add a text. Other prints include empty speech scrolls that could also be filled in by the viewer.[15] One interesting example is an enigmatic woodcut, ca. 1460, of a solitary Christ in a long robe, who stands with crossed hands and closed eyes with a scroll unfurling over his haloed head.[16] The scroll (printed as part of the image) has been filled in by hand with two verses in Latin from Proverbs (13:3 and 18:21) concerning the importance of controlling the tongue. This text led Campbell Dodgson to conclude that the print depicts Christ's refusal to answer the high priest (Matthew 26:63 and Mark 14:61) or more generally "Christ as an Example of Silence."[17] This conclusion makes sense, especially if we assume a monastic context for the image. Yet, although Dodgson suggests that he has discovered the definitive subject for the woodcut, what he really has found is but one interpretation provided by a fifteenth-century viewer. Certainly, part of the function of the empty scroll is to allow a variety of inscriptions and therefore a variety of interpretations of the image.

Making the image speak was often part of the motivation behind such textual interventions. For example, the owner of a woodcut of Christ on the Cross between Mary and John, ca. 1460, provided the image with a hand-drawn scroll and text that proceed from the mouth of the crucified Jesus toward his mother (Fig. 4).[18] Here, the viewer has interpreted the moment represented as that of John 19:26: "When Jesus

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 3. St. Jerome. London, British Museum, A 94. (Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 4. Christ on the Cross between Mary and John. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 24543, fol. 137v. (Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman, behold thy son." And thus Christ's words, "Mulier ecce filius tuus," have been written in the scroll. A very similar woodcut, ca. 1460–70, is glued to the inside back cover of a German manuscript from the monastery of Ebersberg, dating to 1467–68 (Fig. 5).[19] In this case, the added text is less literal and offers a more devotional interpretation. Over the cross, the monastic viewer implicates himself by assigning these words to Jesus: "O dilecte homo propter te innocens suppensus sum" (O beloved man, on account of you, I am hanging [although] innocent). Even more interesting is the inscription to the left and right of Christ, passing through his body at the level of the bloody side wound: "Nudus egressus sum de utero matris mee" (Naked, I came out from my mother's womb). These are the words of Job (1:21), unwavering in his faith. The verse continues: "and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away . . . ." Thus, the added texts reflect one viewer's typological interpretation of Christ's suffering, nakedness, and willingness to die, as well as an interpretation of his death as a kind of birth. Further, the purposeful positioning of the line of text and the breaking of the word "u/tero" (womb) visually points to the side wound as a birth canal and so suggests another layer of meaning—the notion that Christ gave birth to the Church at the moment of his death.[20]

Viewers did not always leave their mark through an additive, textual process; much more radical was the editing or cutting away of portions of the image. Another woodcut of the Crucifixion, now in Nuremberg and dated ca. 1460, seems to depict a solitary figure of the crucified Christ (Fig. 6).[21] But within the yellow border, the area to either side of the figure has been cut out, leaving only Jesus, the cross, the sky, and part of the green ground below. If we compare the woodcut to other images of the Crucified Christ (Figs. 4, 5, 11, 14, 16), the missing elements are easy to determine—the flanking figures of Mary and John. (Part of John's toe remains at the bottom right.) This kind of editing of printed images was not so unusual in the fifteenth century.[22] Although more extreme than adding text, this modification was just another way to interpret the image, to reconfigure it to fulfill the viewer's needs. In this case, the woodcut was originally pasted on a blank folio in a manuscript, dated 1465–82, of the Life of St. Lidwina of Schiedam.[23] Peter Schmidt has recently suggested that the print was inserted to correspond to a passage that describes Lidwina's vision of the Christ Child crucified.[24] The woodcut, therefore, was altered by the user of the manuscript in order to produce an image closer to what was required by the text.

Since early woodcuts and metalcuts were most often made available on single, loose sheets of paper, they were easily inserted into books to illustrate or elaborate

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 5. Christ on the Cross between Mary and John. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 673, inside back cover. (Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

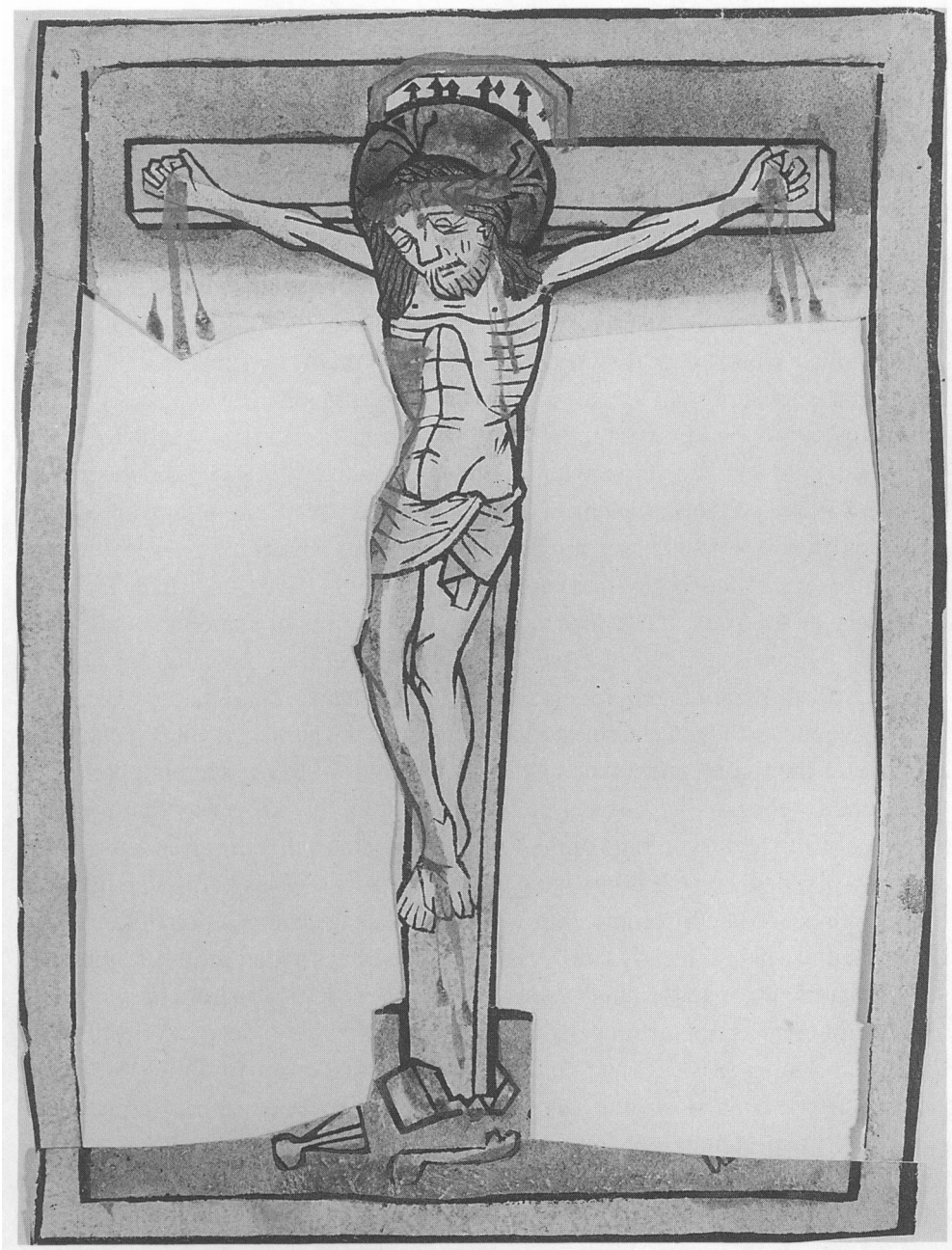

Figure 6. Christ on the Cross. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. H. 48. (Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

the meanings of texts. The juxtaposition of text and image can be quite straightforward, as seen in a missal from the monastery at Schäftlarn, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.[25] The bulk of the manuscript dates to the twelfth century, but in the fifteenth century it was supplemented with a new quire of folios that includes the Canon of the Mass. Across from the beginning of this text, a folio was left blank and a woodcut of the Crucifixion, ca. 1450–60, was pasted on the page.[26] An image of the Crucifixion is typically featured in this position in most missals; and the woodcut of Christ's sacrifice, with angels collecting his blood in Eucharistic chalices, is well-suited to the text and the Passion reenactment at the altar.[27] Also serving as an appropriate frontispiece for a text is a woodcut of the Annunciation, ca. 1450, inserted in a manuscript of German devotional tracts, prayers, and exempla that was originally part of the library at the abbey of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg.[28] The print, with gold leaf added to the halos, the vase, Gabriel's scepter, and the trim of his garment, is a perfect complement to the facing text called "das guldin ave maria" ("the Golden Ave Maria").[29] Some prints were more thoroughly integrated with texts, such as several woodcuts pasted into a book of saints' lives, ca. 1513, from the monastery at Andechs.[30] The manuscript includes prints of standing saints, each modified with scissors and inserted into a text concerning the saint depicted. A woodcut of St. Blasius was crudely trimmed and given a hand-painted border in orange; woodcuts of St. Catherine and St. Benedict were partially trimmed along the contours of the figure; and a woodcut of St. Nicholas of Myra was chopped off at the figure's waist and inserted before a decorative initial.[31] The way that the lines of text conform to the contours of the woodcuts indicates that the arrangement was carefully planned, and the prints were positioned on the pages before the text was written. Since the late fifteenth-century prints predate the composition of the manuscript, their use here is clearly a *re-use*, the last in perhaps a long series of functions.

By comparison to the many prints that have been removed from their original manuscript context, the examples that are *in situ* allow us to learn so much more about the potential meanings and functions of the printed image for fifteenth-century viewers. In the context of their use, early prints are revealed to be not just illustrations but contributing components of a dynamic, devotional visual culture in which both image and viewer acted on one another. The extent of such interactions can be glimpsed in a late fifteenth-century compendium of devotional texts now in the British Library (Egerton 1821).[32] This volume, which may be a Carthusian product of the London Charterhouse or the Priory at Sheen, includes a Psalter and Rosary of the Virgin; but it begins in a purely visual and surprising way (at least to our modern eyes) with three pages painted black and covered in bright red, flame-like drops of blood (fols. 1r–2r). Then follows a kind of title page on which a woodcut

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

of the Virgin nursing the Christ Child has been pasted.[33] Facing this image is the beginning of a somber and reflective text, the "Five Lilies of the Virgin." Divided into short lines, it describes five lilies offered by Mary, on which have been written various commands of remembrance, such as "Memorare innocentissime mortis Christi" (Remember the innocent death of Christ). Following this text, the gloomy tone continues. Beginning with fol. 6r, the pages are tinted red; and at first glance, they appear simply monochromatic. Each leaf, however, is covered in dense layers of carefully painted wounds of varying shades of red, one on top of the other, each dripping with blood. The painting creates the unsettling impression that the pages are profusely bleeding. These bloody wounds continue on fols. 8v and 9r, but here single-sheet woodcuts, ca. 1480–90, have been pasted to the parchment. On the left of the opening is a print of the Man of Sorrows or, as it was called in England, the Image of Pity (Fig. 7).[34] In the woodcut's center is the half-length figure of Christ kneeling in a sarcophagus in front of the cross and flanked by the lance and the rod holding the sponge. Twenty other *arma Christi*, or Instruments of the Passion, are displayed in the compartments of the framing border. These objects serve as visual cues designed to prompt mental recreations of the key events of Christ's suffering.[35] Below the figure of Jesus is printed an indulgence in English: "To all those who devoutly say five Pater Nosters, five Aves and a Creed before such a figure are granted 32,755 years of pardon."[36] On the facing folio is a woodcut of the Five Wounds of Christ, the focus of widespread devotion and even a votive Mass in late medieval England (Fig. 8).[37] On fol. 9v, there is another woodcut of Christ, ca. 1480–90, but now he is standing before a kneeling Carthusian monk (Fig. 9).[38] Like the page itself, Christ's body is painted with streams of blood; even the monk's habit and head are spotted with small drops. The speech scrolls with their printed texts create a dialogue between the figures. The monk prays, "Domine obsecro dirige ad me salutem" (God, send me salvation); and Christ responds in commands that echo monastic vows: "Fili fuge vince tace quiesce" (Son, shun, master [your passions], be silent, be still).

In the context of the manuscript, these images become mnemonic and metonymic tools for Passion devotion embedded in what is essentially a text made up of wounds. Indeed, I know of no better medieval illustration of the words of the English mystic Richard Rolle (d.1349): "sweet Jesus, thy body is like a book written with red ink; so is thy body all written with red wounds. Now, sweet Jesus, grant me to read upon thy book, and somewhat to understand the sweetness of that writing . . . ."[39] The trope of Christ's body as a text is also found in a fourteenth-century preacher's manual, *Fasciculus Morum*, in which Jesus is said to have "stretched out his blessed body, as a parchment maker can be seen to spread a hide in the sun. In

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

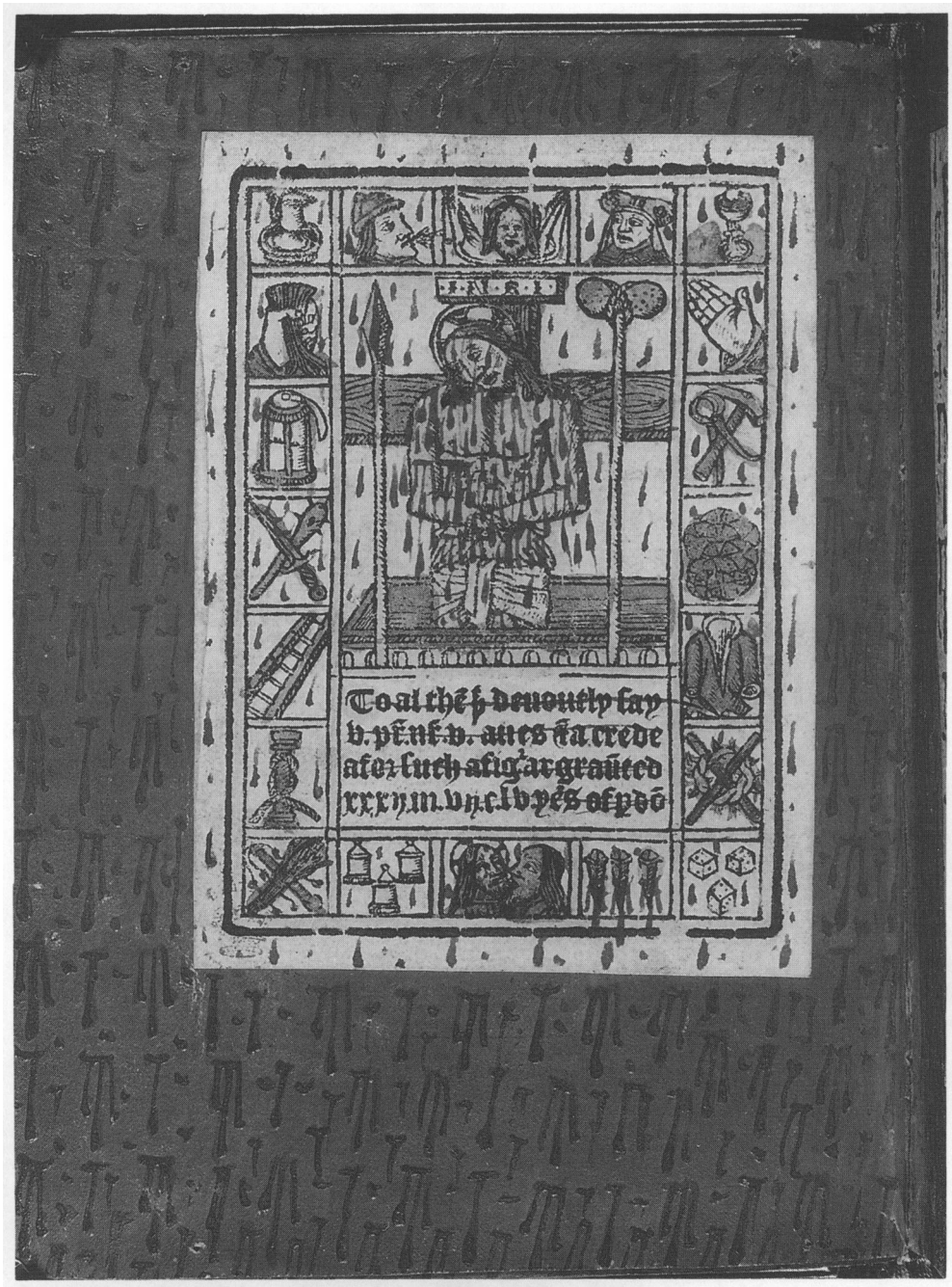

Figure 7. Image of Pity and Arma Christi. London, BL, Egerton 1821, fol. 8v. (Photo: By permission of the British Library.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

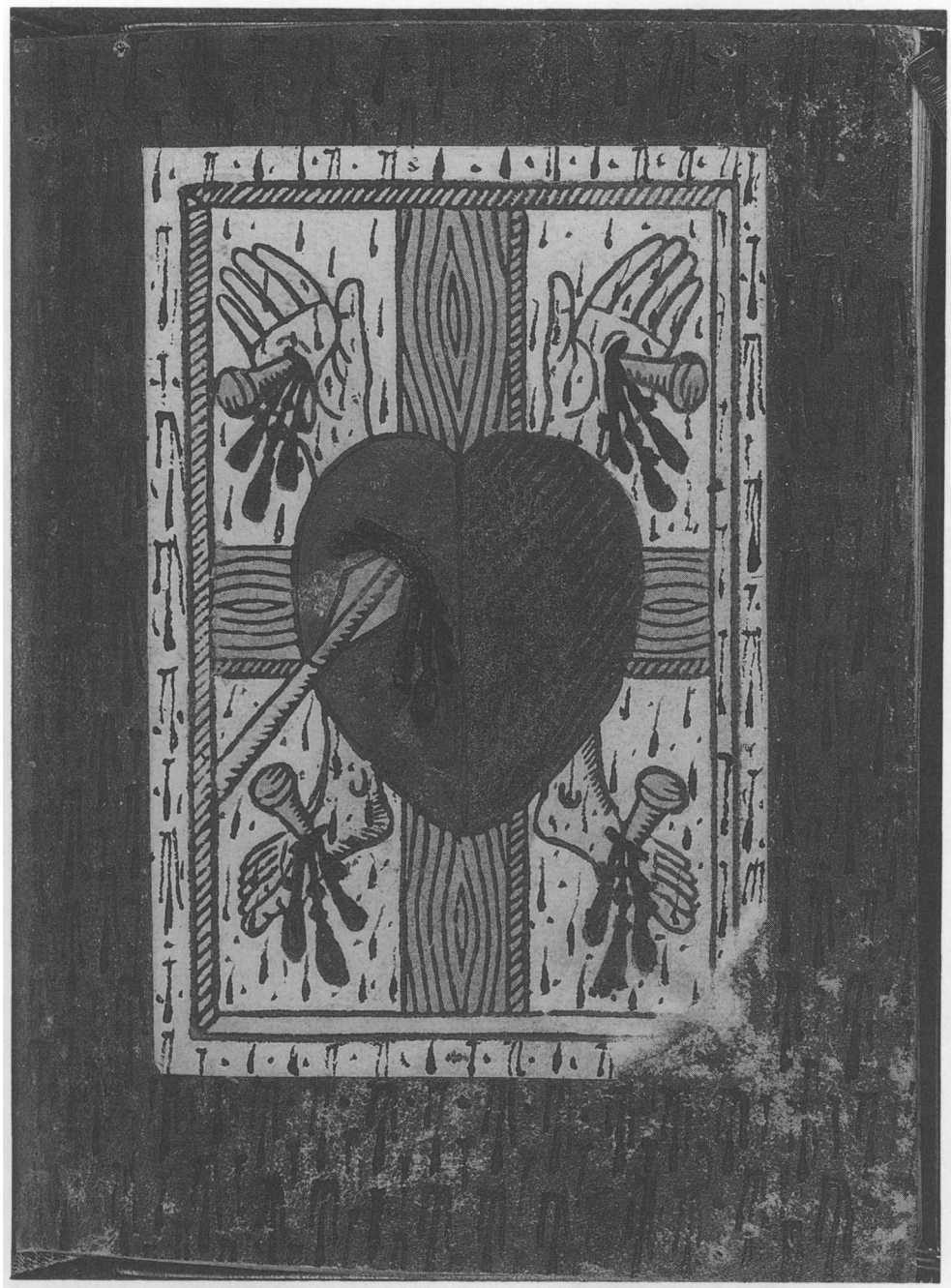

Figure 8. The Five Wounds of Christ. London, BL, Egerton 1821, fol. 9r. (Photo: By permission of the British Library.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

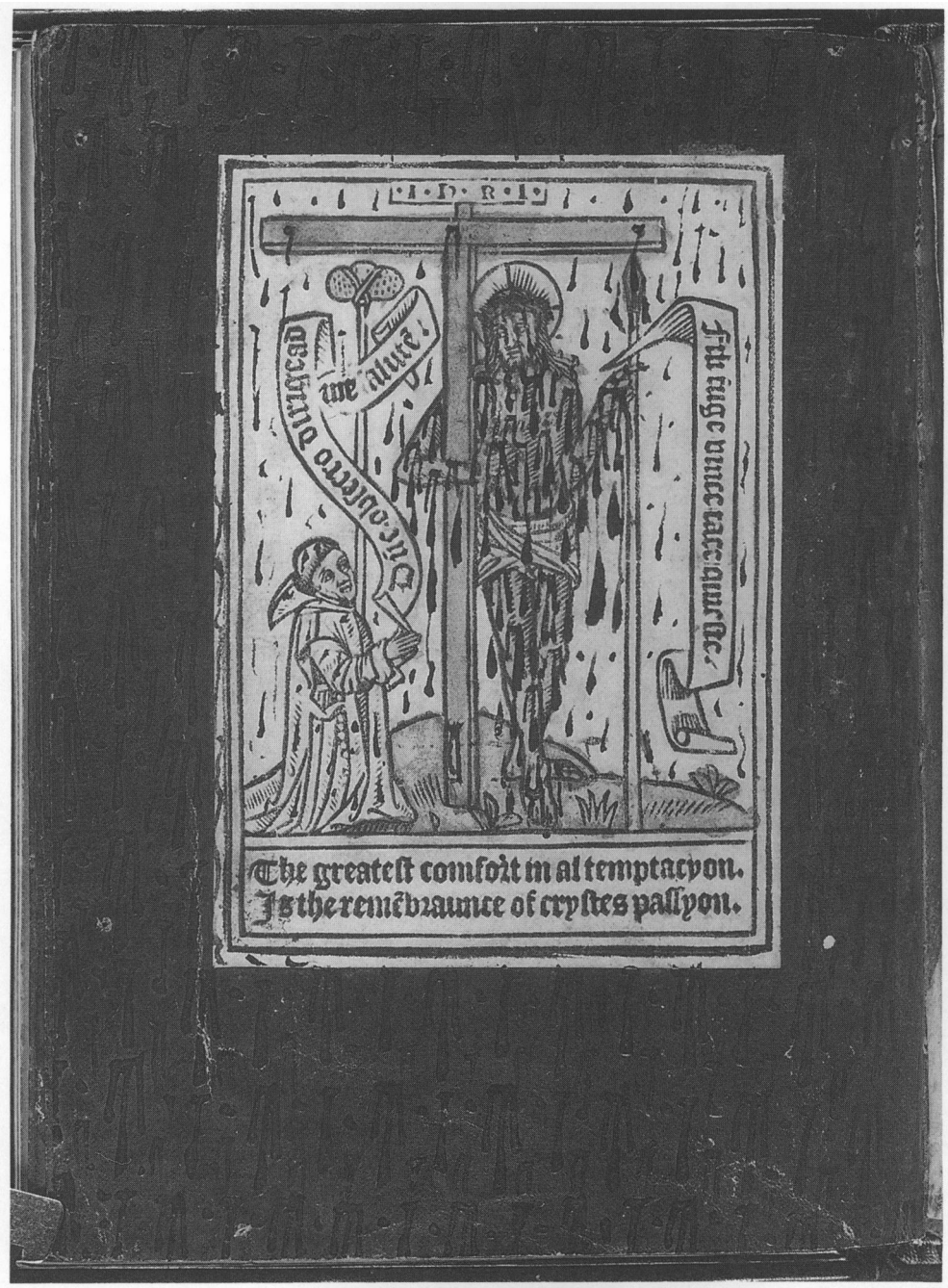

Figure 9. Standing Man of Sorrows. London, BL, Egerton 1821, fol. 9v. (Photo: By permission of the British Library.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

this way Christ . . . offered his body like a charter to be written on. The nails in his hands were used as a quill, and his precious blood as ink."[40] The British Library manuscript literalizes this idea; its vellum folios are transformed into the skin of Christ marked by innumerable wounds. The thick pigment used to paint the blood gives it an almost relief-like presence on the page, creating the illusion that the wounds are still fresh and wet and the folios are sticky surfaces that hold the woodcuts in place. Further, the maker/owner of the manuscript has extended the painted blood onto the background of the prints, fully integrating them with the page. In the woodcut of the Image of Pity (Fig. 7), extra red was added to the tip of the lance and the three nails; and in both images of Christ, his body is covered by a delicate garment made up entirely of decorative fringes of blood (Figs. 7, 9). The woodcut of the standing Man of Sorrows includes a printed two-line inscription that is a good summation of the purpose of this bloody manuscript: "The greatest comfort in all temptation is the remembrance of Christ's Passion" (Fig. 9). With such a vivid devotional aid in hand, how could one forget!

Early prints were also put to unexpected extra-devotional uses that challenge standard ideas about *Andachtsbilder*, as revealed by a metalcut and a woodcut that were pasted in a book of exorcism produced in the 1490s and originally preserved in the library of the Carmelite monastery in Frankfurt (Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibl., Lat. MS Oct. 113).[41] This rather crude manuscript on paper is actually a compilation of several texts, including directions for diagnosing obsession and expelling demons, magical prescriptions, and medicinal and astronomical notes. Originally, on the reverse of the front flyleaf, serving as a kind of frontispiece for the manuscript, was a metalcut of St. Jerome and the Lion, ca. 1470 (Fig. 10).[42] This print was removed and traded for a manuscript in 1936, sold in London in 1938, and is now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington.[43] Luckily it survives intact and complete with a very revealing three-line Latin inscription at the top of the sheet. Although not very legible and full of grammatical errors, the text is in the same hand as the manuscript as a whole and reads: "Possit non eiciam [sic] picture demon ut nullus apparere suo tanto temuit [?] ipse pauore. Obiectum [sic] fuerit nam si quod demone corpus hunc mox in tuitus [sic] depellet ymage [sic] alme" (The picture [is] so powerful that when it appears the demon will fear and tremble. If any body is obsessed by a demon, as soon as it is displayed, the sacred image will dispel it).[44] The authors of a 1912 catalogue refer to the inscription only by describing it as "mystical" in nature, but the text is actually quite specific and points to a very practical function for the print.[45] This is clarified by the initial contents of the manuscript. Opposite the image was the beginning of the text proper, the Canon of the Mass (fols. 1r, 1v) that was to be celebrated before performing an

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 10. St. Jerome. Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, 1943.3.706 (B-3260). (Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

exorcism, directions for which follow immediately after on fols. 2r–23r. At the opening of the exorcism text are found the very same lines that are written above the print of Jerome and the Lion, but here the text begins with a rubric that explicitly directs: "ostende ei ymaginem b[e]ati Ieronimi" (show an image of blessed Jerome).[46]

Since historians have focused primarily on Jerome as a model of the humanist scholar and man of letters, as exemplified by images of the saint in his study translating the Bible, the connection of Jerome, and specifically his image, to exorcism is unexpected. Yet, as Eugene Rice's work reveals, there was a late medieval hagiographic tradition that emphasized the miracle-working power of Jerome's relics, his name, and even his image.[47] For example, there is the story of a nun who keeps demons from invading her cell by hanging the saint's picture on the wall.[48] These miracle stories have apparently never been connected to actual surviving images of Jerome, especially the many printed examples from the fifteenth century. But by studying the metalcut of Jerome and the Lion in the context of the Frankfurt manuscript, we are now able to reconstruct an overlooked function of such images.[49] Further, the episode of Jerome removing the thorn from the lion's paw and taming the wild beast (which has been interpreted in various ways, including as an analogy for monastic chastity[50]) gains a more complex meaning, becoming a trope for removing demons and taming the tortured soul.

The Frankfurt manuscript includes a second printed image on fol. 24v—a woodcut of Christ on the Cross between Mary and John, a widespread late medieval image and a perfect focus for meditation on the Passion (Fig. 11).[51] In this case, the image is affixed to a page facing another text of exorcism over demons. The woodcut, with stains that run down the middle of the image and distinct holes in each corner, has obviously been used earlier in some other capacity, perhaps tacked to a wall or door.[52] Here it gains another layer of reception. Since directions are given that mass is to be celebrated before the exorcism is performed, the woodcut could be viewed as a fitting expression of the liturgy of the Eucharist. In fact, as mentioned above, the text of the Canon of the Mass was usually accompanied by an image of the Crucifixion. But the full meaning of the woodcut in this context only becomes clear when we look further into the manuscript.

On fol. 55r, following a scriptural passage, there is another image of the Crucifixion, but here it is a drawing combined with a diagram (Fig. 12). The text preceding this image is Luke 11:14–28, a passage concerning the casting out of demons by Jesus that includes what is essentially a defense of exorcism from Christ himself:

> some of them said: He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils . . . . But he [Christ] seeing their thoughts, said to them: Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to desolation, and house upon house shall fall. And if Satan also be divided

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 11. Christ on the Cross between Mary and John. Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. Oct. 113, fols. 24v and 25r. (Photo: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

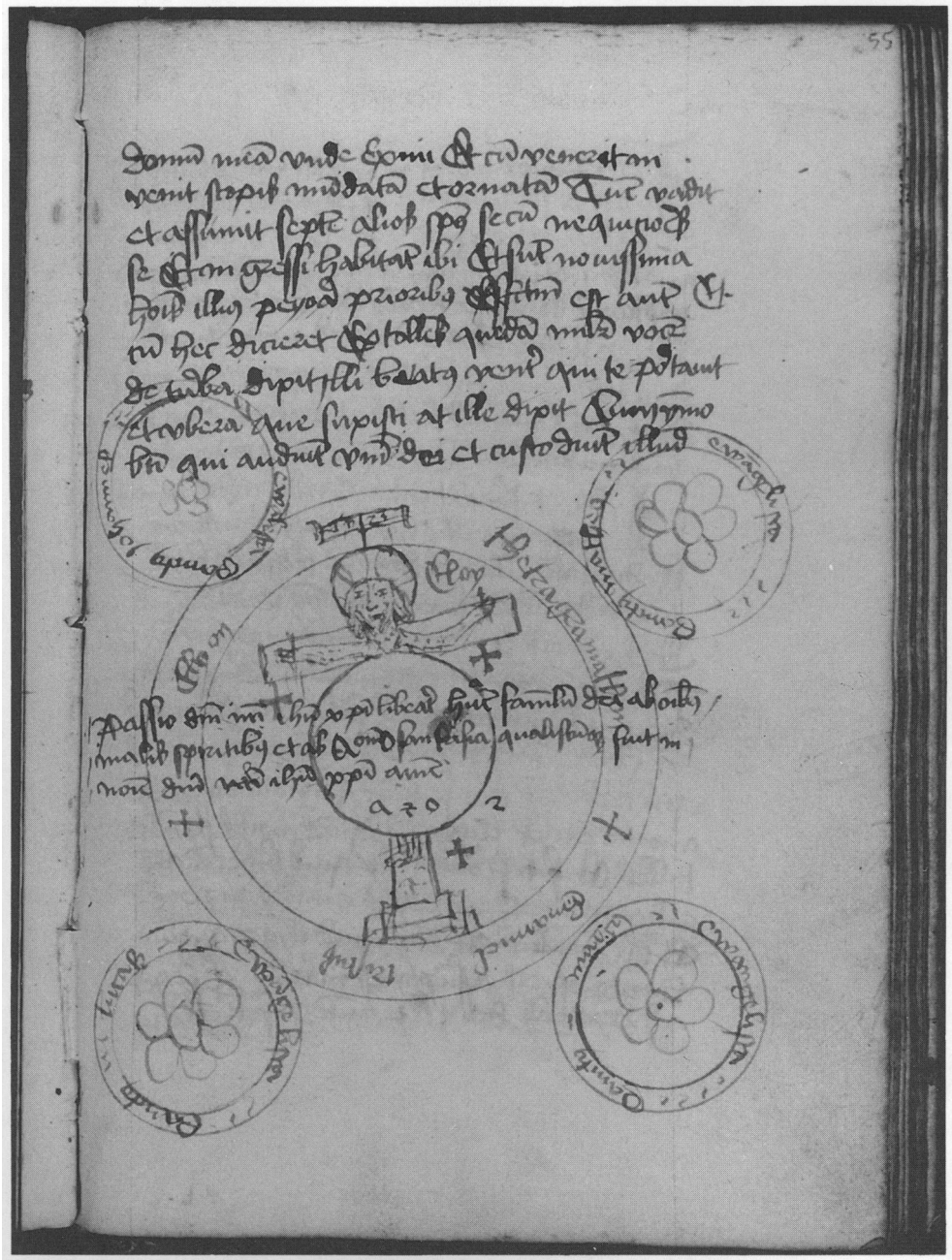

Figure 12. Diagram with Christ on the Cross. Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. Oct. 113, fol. 55r. (Photo: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

> against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? . . . Now if I cast out devils by Beelzebub; by whom do your children cast them out? . . . But if I by the finger of God cast out devils; doubtless the kingdom of God is come upon you (11:15–20).

The diagram is made up of circles in black ink and a drawing of Christ Crucified in black and red in the center. The circle that covers Jesus' body is inscribed with an abbreviation for alpha and omega; and other sacred words, including names for God, are written in red in the outer ring ("Emanuel," "Elyon," "Tetragramathon") and beside the halo ("Eloy"). The four smaller circles frame red flowers and include the names of the four evangelists also written in red: "Sanctus Johannes Evangelista" on the upper left, Luke on the bottom left, Matthew on the upper right, and Mark on the bottom right. With its circles and names, this diagram is very similar to the circles used in ritual magic.[53] In practice, it probably served as a guide for tracing circles on the ground, complete with the image of the crucified Christ. Then the suffering person would stand within the central circle, and the three lines of Latin text, written in black over the diagram, would be read: "Passio domini nostri ihesu christi liberat [sic] hunc famulum dei ab omnibus malis spiritibus et ab omni fantasia [?], qualiscumque fuit [sic], in nomine domini nostri ihesu christi. Amen" (May the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ free this servant of God from evil spirits and every phantasm whatever sort it may be, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen). This certainly redefines the idea of devotion to Christ's Passion, and I think it should also color how we interpret the woodcut of Christ crucified that faces the exorcism text earlier in the manuscript (Fig. 11). Like the image of Jerome (Fig. 10), this representation of Jesus is another apotropaic tool to be used in combination with prayer and meditation to expel demons from the bodies of true believers. Also, both prints (which are the perfect objects of private devotion) must be seen as functioning not just for an audience of one, but sometimes for a communal circle of viewers.

As evidenced by many of the examples already discussed, religious communities were one of the most important audiences for early prints.[54] The woodcuts inserted in two early sixteenth-century manuscripts from the Benedictine abbey of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg suggest a rather systematic use of prints as devotional and mnemonic aids. The first manuscript (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibl., 8° Cod. 179) dates to ca. 1530 and was apparently designed for a novice.[55] It opens with a text on the principles of monastic life, and then, starting on fol. 61r, meditations on the life and Passion of Christ are organized into sections by the day of the week and the canonical hours. This last text appears to be a variation of St. Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae*, or *The Tree of Life*.[56] In this portion of the manuscript are found a series of small woodcuts, each painted in bright colors, with metal leaf applied to the halos and framed with an orange border. The prints (which were

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

probably produced in Augsburg, ca. 1470–80) were clearly inserted in the codex sometime after it was written. Instead of being pasted on a blank folio or in a space within or at the beginning or end of a passage, the bottom edge of each woodcut was attached to the top of the page and then folded down. Consequently, the paper sheet must be flipped up to reveal the image and the text beneath. In all cases, the woodcuts were carefully positioned to work with the text. An image of the Nativity with a kneeling Mary and Joseph is glued to the top of fol. 69r;[57] on the facing page, fol. 68v, begins the text for Tuesday at Matins with red section headings such as "Jesus maria natus" (Jesus born of Mary) and, on the top of fol. 69r, "Jesus ab angelis honorificatus" (Jesus honored by angels). A woodcut of a standing Christ holding a scourge and whip, his naked body dotted with painted wounds, is attached to the top of fol. 78v in the middle of the readings for Friday at Prime.[58] The section headings include, on the preceding page, "Jesus perflagellatus" (Jesus flagellated all over) and "Jesus spinis coronatus" (Jesus crowned with thorns), and on fol. 78v, "Jesus punctus crudeliter" (Jesus cruelly punctured) and "Jesus dure plagatus" (Jesus harshly wounded). Two more flip-up images are inserted in the readings for Friday. On fol. 80r, a woodcut of the Preparation for the Crucifixion is attached above the meditations for Sext and None, with the headings "Jesus ad crucem veniens" (Jesus coming to the cross), "Jesus veste nudatus" (Jesus stripped of his clothes), and "Jesus dire clavatus" (Jesus horribly nailed up) (Fig. 13).[59] And finally, on fol. 80v, the image of the Crucified Christ between Mary and John flips up to reveal the page's first heading, "Jesus vexillum erigens" (Jesus raising up the banner) (Fig. 14).[60]

The section of meditations concludes with a woodcut of Christ Crucified glued to the verso of a leaf inserted between fols. 86 and 87 (Fig. 15).[61] Like the Nuremberg print discussed above (Fig. 6), this is only a fragment of a woodcut of the Crucifixion; but in this case, Jesus has been cut out of a multi-figured composition that included not only Mary and John but Mary Magdalene and perhaps other saints, as well as angels flying beneath the arms of the cross.[62] In fact, even though the print has been severely trimmed down to just the cross and the body of Jesus, parts of the kneeling figure of the Magdalene still survive—her knee and arm hugging the base of the cross. The image is appropriately placed following the meditation (on fol. 86v) entitled "Jesus finis optatus" (Jesus, desired end). But the woodcut is more than just an illustration, for it has been edited to make room for a text—the letters of the alphabet with a list of parts of Christ's body from his right foot ("pes dextra") to the top of his head ("vertex").[63] The red ink used for the alphabetical list was also used to depict the drops of blood that cover the body of Christ, thus creating a visual link between the wounded body and the text and also indicating that the scribe of the manuscript was at least partially responsible for the painting of the woodcut.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

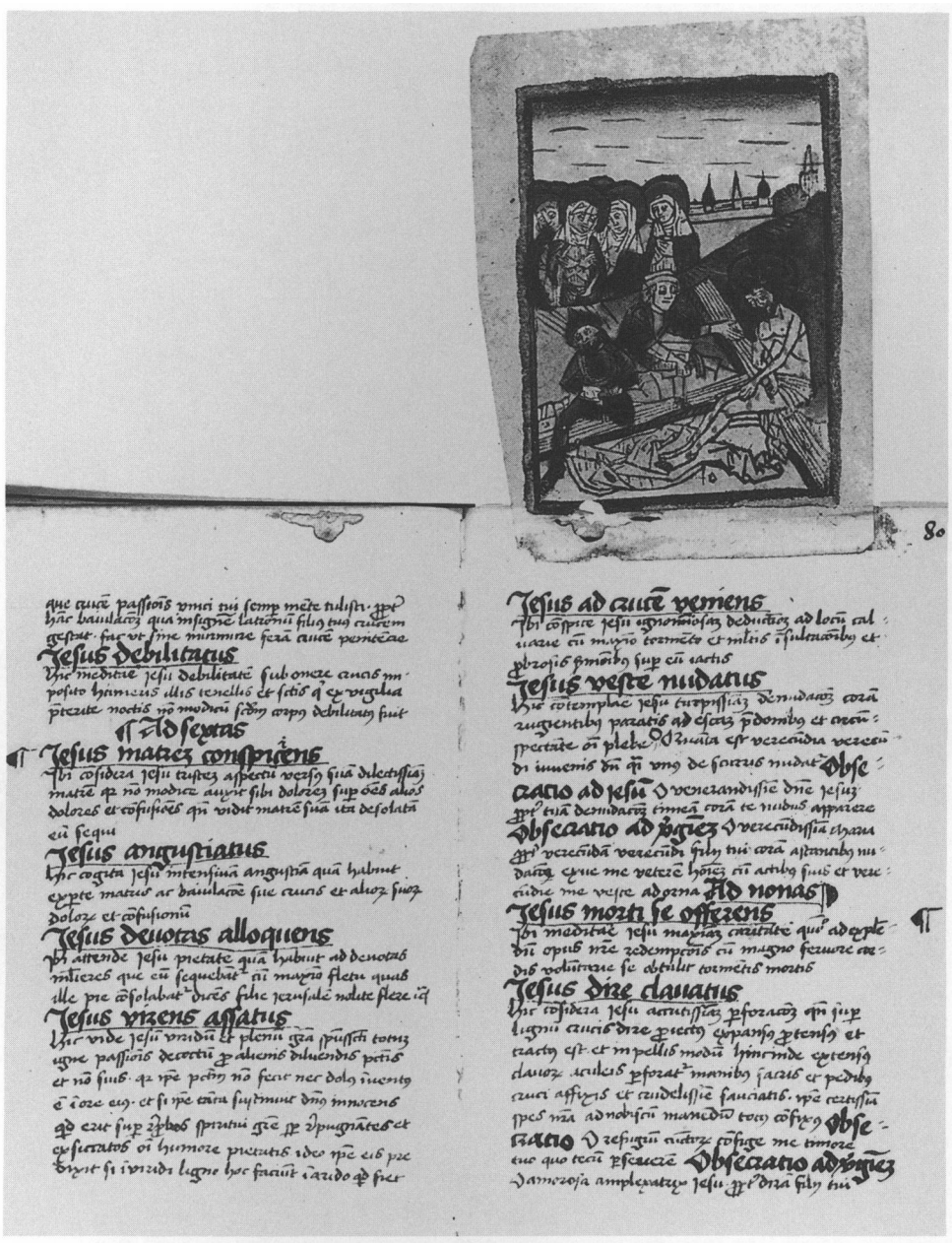

Figure 13. Preparation for the Crucifixion. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 179, fols. 79v and 80r. (Photo: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

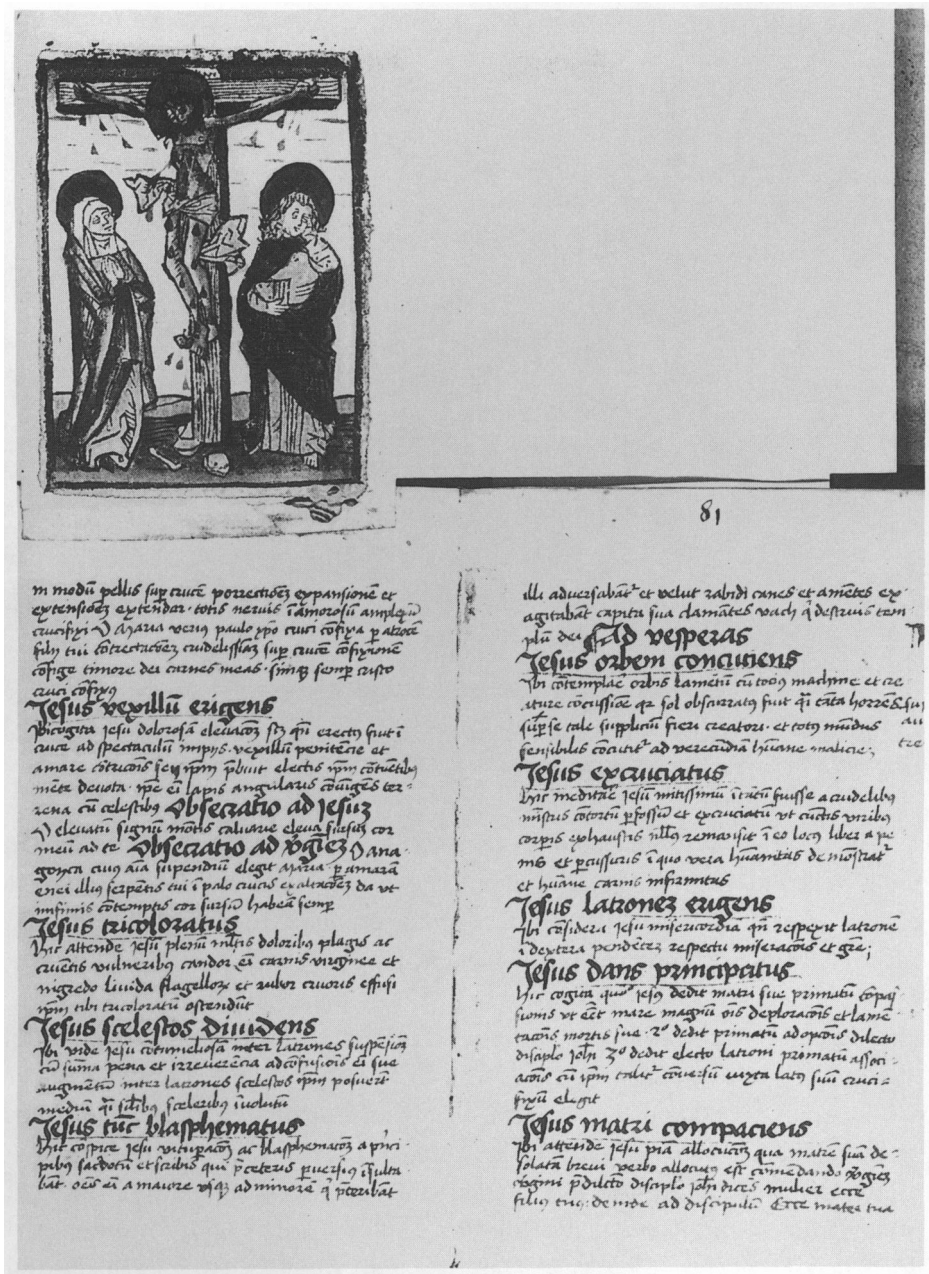

Figure 14. Christ on the Cross between Mary and John. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 179, fols. 80v and 81r. (Photo: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg.)

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

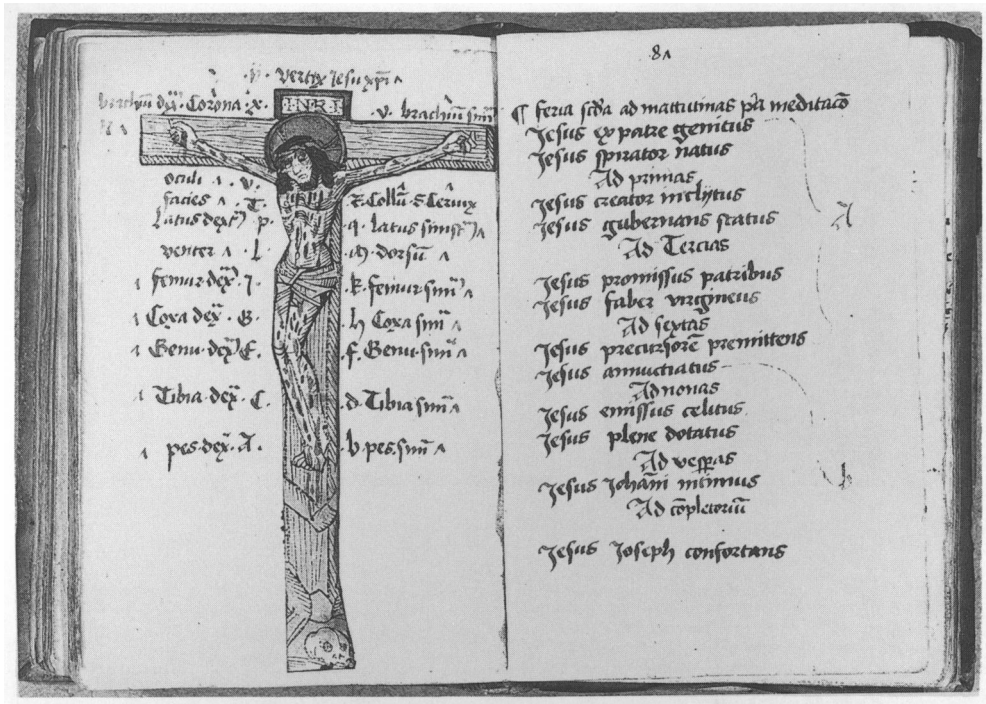

Figure 15. Christ on the Cross. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 179, inserted between fols. 86 and 87. (Photo: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg.)

The image with its labeled parts serves as a frontispiece for a table of contents (fols. 87r–91r) for the meditations that precede it. This table lists all the major headings (like the ones quoted above) grouped by the canonical hours and the days of the week from Monday through Sunday; and it is divided into sections by red brackets in the margin, each accompanied by a red letter of the alphabet. Apparently, these letters are meant to correspond to the labeled parts of the woodcut, and the sections of the text included in each bracket are to be combined with a meditation on a specific part of the body of Jesus. The use of the image of the Crucified Christ as a memory diagram is implied in Bonaventure's text (*Lignum vitae*), which figuratively conflates the Tree of Life—or more specifically, the Wood (lignum) of Life—and its many fruits with the cross that bore the fruit of Christ's body.[64] Although the original text did not specifically direct the reader to visualize or use an image of the Crucifixion, it is clear that the use of such an image in relation to the text was commonplace. In 1492, Johann Reger produced a single-sheet woodcut in which excerpts from Bonaventure's text are arranged in sections that flank an image of the solitary Christ on the cross.[65] The specific focus on the parts of Jesus' body in the Augsburg manuscript seems inspired by longstanding devotional practices. For

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

example, another woodcut of the Crucified Christ, ca. 1465, pasted in a 1498 manuscript now in Munich, is used in a similar way (Fig. 16).[66] It faces a well-known hymn with verses addressed to each of the "membrorum Christi" beginning with the feet, as indicated by the rubric, "Ad pedes" (To the feet).[67] Such a part-by-part meditation on the Passion and the members of Christ's body was typical of late medieval piety, as is demonstrated by the English woodcuts of the *arma Christi* and Five Wounds of Christ discussed above (Figs. 7 and 8).[68]

Another early sixteenth-century manuscript originally from the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra (Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 4425) also contains texts by Bonaventure, as well as woodcuts.[69] In fact, the very same woodcut of Christ Crucified is included, also cut out with texts keyed alphabetically to the parts of Jesus' body. But, in this case, the print is used in conjunction with not only one text but a series of meditations, and it appears throughout the manuscript a total of fourteen times![70] Although each meditation is different in its focus, the woodcuts are quite similar in function. In order to facilitate the memorization of the elements of each text, the reader/viewer is instructed to take the main topics—whether they be human fears (fol. 64v), sins (fols. 75v, 148r), divine benefits (fols. 80v, 136r), virtues (fols. 103v, 141r), or separate scenes from Christ's life and Passion (fols. 156r, 165r)—and mentally combine them with the image of the crucified Jesus. Specifically, each text is arranged alphabetically, either in sections that begin with each letter of the alphabet or simply with the letters of the alphabet added in the margin to mark off certain passages. The instructions on fol. 136r, at the beginning of a text on the remembrance of God's beneficence ("Recordacio beneficiorum dei"), are typical: "sed ut melius in memoria retineri possint, locanda sunt in istis viginti vulneribus Jesu cristi crucifixi ymagine incipiendo a planta pedis dextri crucifixi ascendendo usque ad verticem eius secundum ordinem viginti litterarum alphabeti, inchoando a littera A usque ad litteram U inclusive" (in order for you to be able to remember better, all of these [benefits of God] have to be placed in the twenty wounds of the image of the crucified Jesus Christ, starting from the sole of the right foot up to the top of his head following the order of the twenty letters of the alphabet starting from the letter "a" until the letter "u").[71] And thus, the woodcut of Christ that accompanies these meditations on fol. 135v is so labeled. The specific focus on the wounds of Christ is more explicit in the text that faces the woodcut on fol. 164v; these daily meditations on the Passion of Jesus Christ ("Meditatio quottidiana passionis Jesu cristi") are linked to the image not only alphabetically but also by rubrics ("in primo vulnere," "in secundo vulnere," etc.) that divide the text into sections, each focused on one of twenty main wounds of Christ. In this case, the text informs the reader that these twenty wounds contain all of the other wounds (5,455 to be precise) of the Saviour.[72] In short, each of the labeled body parts of Christ

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Figure 16. Christ on the Cross between Mary and John. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 20021, fols. 19v and 20r. (Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.)

represents a different wound (or multiplicity of wounds) that in turn acts, in the tradition of the *ars memorativa*, as a *locus* in which to place a specific textual theme or meditation.[73]

Visually, the fourteen woodcuts differ mainly in the density of their labeling, which reflects the varying complexity of their function as mnemonic and devotional tools. Although the print on fol. 164v is straightforwardly labeled with a red alphabet and single body parts, the woodcut on 140v is surrounded by a jumble of notations in two colors. In red are the alphabet, body parts, and cues for the canonical hours (written in the same color in the text); and in mustard yellow are short phrases quoted from the beginning of each section of the text (also written in the same color in the text proper). On fol. 153v, the woodcut is labeled with the body parts and canonical hours in red, as well as three separate alphabets in red, green, and mustard yellow. These alphabets correspond to letters in the same colors in the margin of the facing meditations for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.

The labels surrounding the woodcut on fol. 152r are crowded as well, but the text/image relationship is quite succinct, in that the image and the text around it

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

represent a complete meditation. The subject of this meditation in relation to an image of Christ is somewhat surprising. The short introductory text at the bottom of fol. 151v reads: "Incipiunt meditaciones de malis quibus homo lapsus incurrit propter transgressionem mandatorum dei . . . ." (Here begin meditations on the bad things that fallen man endures on account of the transgression of God's commands). On the next page (fol. 152r), below the woodcut, are two lines: "Deploracio exilii nostri et omnium malorum in quibus incurrimus propter peccata nostra" (Complaint of our exile and of all the bad things that we face because of our sins). The print is labeled with the alphabet and the parts of Christ's body, as well as a separate alphabet with a list of "bad things," such as exile in Purgatory ("Exilium in purgatorio"), exile from earthly paradise ("Exilium a paradyso terrestri"), and exile from celestial paradise ("Exilium a paradyso celesti"). At the apex above Christ's head is inscribed the ultimate "bad thing"—Hell ("Infernus").

In this way, almost the entire manuscript is organized around the image of the body of Christ, which appears again and again and acts as the ultimate mnemonic aid. Indeed, on fol. 96v, the text instructs the reader: "imitari ante omnia Yesum cristum . . . et invenies anime tue solacium et omnia adversa convertentur tibi in bonum et eternum gaudium sint eciam arma tua non carnalia sed spiritalia ut crux clavi lancea, preciosa quinque vulnera, et omnia passionis Cristi stigmata in memoria scripta" (imitate before all else Jesus Christ . . . and you will find the happiness of your soul and all evils will be converted for you into good and eternal happiness. Your weapons should not be physical but spiritual, like the cross, the nails, the lance, the precious five wounds, and all the stigmata of Christ's Passion that are written for your memory). Like the bloody pages of the British Library manuscript (Egerton 1821) (Figs. 7, 8, 9) that so epitomize Richard Rolle's metaphor of Christ's body as a "book written with red ink," here text and image and the acts of writing, reading, viewing, meditation, and memory all combine.

The use of prints in the London, Frankfurt, and Augsburg manuscripts suggests a great deal of creative freedom on the part of the viewer, who chose where and how to use images in relation to texts, even to the point of subtracting part of the image to make it conform to a specific meaning or function. Along with the other prints discussed in this article, these examples prove the variety of ways in which early prints could be personalized by individual viewers. Although other kinds of late medieval images (paintings, drawings, and sculptures) were also open to manipulation, the case of prints is especially significant because the printed image started as a multiple, mass-produced depiction. It is the tension between the standardization and the personalization of early prints that is key to understanding more fully their function and meaning.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

The use of the woodcuts of the Crucified Christ in the Augsburg manuscripts especially brings this tension into focus. On some level, the repeated use of the same print suggests a desire for a uniform iconography. The printed image was an efficient way to give consistency to the depiction of Christ and thus the perfect medium for creating a homogeneous, communal visual culture within the walls of the monastery or at least within the covers of each monk's books. In this regard, these woodcuts and the manuscripts in which they are pasted should be seen in the context of the late medieval reform of monasteries, including the abbey of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg.[74] Such reform movements promoted an increase in text production, as well as a standardization of both texts and images.[75] Yet, although these woodcuts were all produced from the same block, each reveals the personalizing work of the viewer's hand. As this essay's various examples have suggested, the reasons for this personalization stem partially from aspects of the *medium* of the printed image itself (its malleability and accessibility) and from a devotional impulse to interact with the image. But as Peter Parshall has recently pointed out in relation to Passion devotion and the *ars memorativa*, one of the most important aspects of creating an effective "memory image" is the role of the individual in personalizing that image.[76] Although most of this personalization occurred strictly on the mental level, in the case of early prints, the viewer could intervene more directly—by writing on the image, filling in blank spaces with text, cutting up the image, or adding pictorial elements.

Thus, it is this desire to create an effective, personalized mnemonic image that partially explains the manipulation in the Augsburg manuscripts of the woodcuts of Christ Crucified. Although each print is an impression from the same block, each is individualized. For example, in the second Augsburg manuscript (Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 4425), a strip of green has been painted below some of the prints, creating a hint of landscape.[77] And in the last woodcut in the manuscript, on fol. 239v, a skull at the base of the cross (that had been trimmed from the other thirteen prints) has been left intact, and the entire page has been painted gold.[78] In scenes of the Crucifixion, the skull is usually interpreted as that of Adam, and here it seems a purposeful link to the text written across the bottom of the page, each line split by the base of the cross.[79] The passage reminds the reader/viewer of the "peccata quibus homo peccator domini [sic] suum offendit et iterum crucifixit" (sins with which the sinning man offended his Lord and crucified him for a second time) and the "morte eterna" (eternal death) from which mankind has been saved through Jesus' sacrifice.[80] Ultimately, in the case of each of these woodcuts, the image's function as a potent reminder of Christ's suffering only becomes clear because of the intervention of an individual viewer—the scribe, who took his pen and added streaks and dots of red to the crucified body, creating as many wounds as his devotion would allow.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

NOTES

The material presented here is part of my dissertation on the reception of the early printed image, and the research was funded by a Fulbright Graduate Fellowship, 1998–99. I would like to thank Richard Kieckhefer, David J. Collins, and Stefano Mula for their help with translations, as well as Sandra Hindman, Anne Heath, Peter Parshall, and members of Northwestern University's Medieval Reading Group for their suggestions and critical reading of an early draft of this essay. All biblical quotations are from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Bible.

1. For a discussion of "ugly art" in relation to late medieval devotion, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "'To make women weep': Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res* 31 (Spring 1997): 9–33. On the study of the abject and art history in general, see Joseph Leo Koerner, "The Abject of Art History," *Res* 31 (Spring 1997): 5–8.

2. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. H. 47. Wilhelm L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols. (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1926–30), no. 1083; August von Essenwein, *Die Holzschnitte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Germanischen Museum* (Nuremberg, 1874), 3, no. 56, pl. 29; Walter Stengel, *Holzschnitte im Kupferstichkabinett des Germanischen Nationalmuseums zu Nürnberg* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1913), pl. 12.

3. London, British Museum, A80. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1398; Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1903; reprint, Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Quarto Press, 1980), 1:90–1.

4. This kind of print is referred to as a "tinsel print." See Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, with a Detailed Survey of Work Done in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (1935; rpt., New York: Dover, 1963), 1:171–2. For other examples, see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, nos. 29, 799, 810, 868, 922, 972b, 1026, 1341, 1425, 1595, and 1853.

5. For more on the various formal aspects of early prints and their potential meanings, see David S. Areford, "In the Viewer's Hands: The Reception of the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe, c. 1400–c. 1500" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern Univ., 2001), ch. 1.

6. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 23–25, figs. 1.5 and 1.6.

7. Ibid., 23.

8. These ideas persist even in the best scholarly work. See most recently, David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). As the authors of this important study admit, their focus is on the "critical stage in the maturation of early printmaking as an artform" (v), thus most early prints are left behind in their narrative of "How Prints Became Works of Art" (as ch. 3 is titled). Another prevailing idea about early prints is that their formal crudeness suggests that they are conceptually unsophisticated images designed for "simple people." In this regard, see William M. Ivins's influential study, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 27–9.

9. Throughout this essay, the reader should take note of citations to catalogues in which certain aspects of prints, mainly writing on the images, are not noted or are edited from reproductions. On the issue of localizing the production of prints, see Peter Schmidt, "Rhin supérieur ou Bavière? Localisation et mobilité des gravures au milieu du XV^{e} siècle," in *Revue de l'art* 120 (1998): 68–88. Schmidt convincingly argues that since print designs were easily copied and prints were widely diffused, it is

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

unproductive to focus on stylistic analysis as a key to localization (and even dating). As Schmidt's other work argues (as does my own), it is much more fruitful for scholars to move beyond "style" and explore the surviving contextual evidence in order to understand how these images functioned for their original viewers.

10. See David S. Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, edited by Alasdair A. MacDonald and H. N. Bernhard Ridderbos (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 211–38; and Areford, "In the Viewer's Hands," chs. 4, 5. Chapter four of my dissertation focuses on woodcuts that were produced to promote the cult of Simon of Trent, a boy supposedly murdered by Jews in 1475. These prints were carefully designed to serve a variety of functions: as documentary images, as advertisements for Simon's miraculous relics, as devotional images, and as anti-Semitic propaganda.

11. For a recent systematic study of writing on devotional prints, see Peter Schmidt, "Beschriebene Bilder: Benutzernotizen als Zeugnisse frommer Bildpraxis im späten Mittelalter," in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus Schreiner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2002), 347–84.

12. London, British Museum A 22; Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 602; Dodgson, *Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, 1:57.

13. London, British Museum, A 94; Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1546; Dodgson, *Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, 1:98.

14. The last part of the inscription beside the shoulder is illegible. The inscription on the right hand page of the book ends with "ff SK," perhaps a monastic monogram for "frater SK." For a discussion of these inscriptions (especially the one written on the page of the book) as a complex attempt to communicate with the depicted saint, see Schmidt, "Beschriebene Bilder," 356–7.

15. There are many early relief prints and engravings that include empty scrolls, as well as blank books; in some cases, they remain empty, and in others, they have been filled in by handwritten inscriptions. For a discussion of the purposes of empty scrolls included in secular or genre prints (such as the work of Israhel van Meckenem), see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 62; see 383, n. 83 for a brief discussion of devotional prints with empty scrolls. On speech scrolls in manuscript illumination, see Alison R. Flett, "The Significance of Text Scrolls: Towards a Descriptive Terminology," in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Philadelphia: Harwood, 1991), 43–56; and Susanne Wittekind, "Vom Schriftband zum Spruchband: Zum Funktionswandel von Spruchbändern in Illustrationen biblischer Stoffe," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 343–67, plus figs.

16. London, British Museum, A 32. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 837; Dodgson, *Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, 1:62–3.

17. Dodgson, *Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, 1:62–3.

18. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 24543, fol. 137v. For the woodcut, see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 398a; and Georg Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek München*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 21 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1910), 2:9, no. 5, pl. 5. Schreiber does not mention the added speech scroll or the handwritten text; and although Leidinger does mention the scroll and text, the reproduction in his catalogue is altered so that the speech scroll and text have disappeared. For the manuscript, see *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae regiae Monacensis* 2.4 (Munich, 1881), 130. The manuscript is a fifteenth-century copy of a grammar by Alexander de Villa (Doctinalis pars tertia cum commento), and the print's inscription is in the same brownish ink and hand as the manuscript as a whole.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

19. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Cgm. 673, inside back cover. See Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 403a; Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte*, 2:9–10, no. 6, pl. 6. Schreiber does not mention the handwritten text; Leidinger does include the text in his entry, yet again it is edited from the catalogue's reproduction. For the manuscript, a German and Latin "Vocabularius ex quo," see *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. Karin Schneider, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis* 5.4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), 384–6. The woodcut's inscriptions are in the same hand as the manuscript as a whole. A second woodcut, the Entombment of Christ (Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 517b; and Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte*, vol. 2, no. 9, pl. 9), is pasted to the inside front cover of this manuscript. It includes an inscription in the same hand: "Omnis Christi am[or] est nostra instruccio" (Total love of Christ is our command). Leidinger mentions yet another woodcut, a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian now in Berlin, that also includes an inscription in the same hand. See Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1683; and Max Lehrs, *Holzschnitte der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts im Königl. Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1908), no. 28, pl. 19.

20. For the idea of Christ giving birth to the Church, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 97.

21. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. H. 48. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 403. See Essenwein, *Holzschnitte*, 3, no. 57, pl. 30.

22. Areford, "In the Viewer's Hands," ch. 2, discusses several examples of the cutting and collaging of fifteenth-century woodcuts. Ch. 3 is devoted to the case of Jacopo Rubieri, an Italian lawyer who manipulated his prints in a variety of ways and glued them to the pages of his law manuscripts. For Rubieri and his prints, see also Fiora Bellini, *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi* (Ravenna: Longo, 1987).

23. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, Hs 2261. The woodcut was originally pasted to fol. 180v. See Lotte Kurras, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, part 1: *Die literarischen und religiösen Handschriften*, Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg 1 (Wiesbaden, 1974), 38–41.

24. Peter Schmidt, "Bildgebrauch und Frömmigkeitspraxis: Bemerkungen zur Benutzung früher Druckgraphik," in *Spiegel der Seligkeit: Privates Bild und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2000), 79.

25. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 17019. *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 2.3 (1878; rpt., Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 75.

26. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 17019, fol. 91v. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 963a; G. Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek München*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 10 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1907), 1:19.

27. For examples of woodcuts of the Crucifixion facing the Canon of the Mass in printed missals, see Paul Heitz and Wilhelm Schreiber, *Christus am Kreuz: Kanonbilder der in Deutschland gedruckten Messbücher des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1910).

28. For the print, see Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte*, 1:2; Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 35b. The print is on fol. 152v of Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Cgm. 4594. For the manuscript, see Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, 224–8.

29. See Kurt Ruh, et al., *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), cols. 80–1.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

30. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 3112d. *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Munich, 1894), 76.

31. The woodcuts of Nicholas, Catherine, Blasius (Schreiber, *Handbuch*, nos. 1634b, 1320a, and 1282a), and Benedict are on fols. 18v, 105v, 211r, 339r.

32. London, BL, Egerton 1821, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1854–1875*, vol. 2 (1877), 889.

33. London, BL, Egerton 1821, fol. 2v. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. *1044b; Campbell Dodgson, *English Woodcuts of the Fifteenth Century*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 88 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1936), no. 16, pl. 16. The woodcut is framed on three sides by a handwritten text that mentions the rosary. Unfortunately, a full translation is difficult since the text is rubbed away along the edges of the folio.

34. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. *868c; Dodgson, *English Woodcuts*, no. 6, pl. 6; Campbell Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts of the Late Fifteenth Century, with Special Reference to Those in the Bodleian Library," *The Seventeenth Volume of the Walpole Society* (1928–29): 95–108 plus figs. (97).

35. See Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–152; Robert Suckale, "*Arma Christi*: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 177–208; and Areford, "Passion Measured," esp. 214–5.

36. For similar examples, see Dodgson, *English Woodcuts*, pls. 1–5, 7–10; Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts," 98–9, pl. 35 a–d; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 238–9, pl. 85. Like other examples, the indulgence was probably marked out following the Reformation.

37. For the print, see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. *1795h; Dodgson, *English Woodcuts*, 10, no. 21, pl. 21; and Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts," 98. For the devotion to the Five Wounds, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 302–6. Specifically for England, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 238–48; and Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 84–91.

38. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. *916a; Dodgson, *English Woodcuts*, 9, no. 12, pl. 12; Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts," 98.

39. Richard Rolle, *English Writings of Richard Rolle: Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 34–6. I have used modern spellings.

40. *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 213; as quoted in Frederick Christian Bauerschmidt, "Seeing Jesus: Julian of Norwich and the Text of Christ's Body," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997): 208. On the specifically English idea of Christ's tortured body as a "charter" or contract between God and man, see Mary C. Spalding, *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Bryn Mawr, Penn.: Bryn Mawr College, 1914); and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 306–8.

41. Now Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibl., Lat. MS Oct. 113. See *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppe Manuscripta Latina*, ed. Karin Bredehorn and Gerhardt Powitz, *Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main* 4.3 (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1979), 122–6. Also see the short description in Emil Sarnow and Wilhelm L. Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Kupferstiche in Besitze der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt a. M.*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 33 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1912), 7, no. 1. For a similar manuscript in Munich, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

42. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 681; Sarnow and Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Kupferstiche*, 16, no. 22, pl. 22.

43. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1943.3.706 (B-3260). Richard S. Field, *Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1965), no. 357. The inscription is not mentioned in the catalogue entry, and it is cropped in the reproduction.

44. Although the handwritten text is difficult to read, there is another woodcut of Jerome (now in Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) that includes a more complete and legible version of the same text cut into the block. See Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1541; and Wilhelm L. Schreiber, *Holzschnitte aus dem letzten Drittel des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Kgl. Graphischen Sammlung zu München*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 31, 32 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1912), 20, no. 127, pl. 127. The text of the Munich woodcut reads: "Jeronimi virtus est tam miranda beati, Possint ne eciam picture demon ut ullus, Apparere sue tanta tremit [sic] ipse pauere, Obssessum fuerit, nam sy quod demone quia [corpus?], Hunc mox intuitus depellit ymaginis alme. Hec augustino describit dicta Cyrillus. Ora pro nobis beate pater ieronime" (The power of blessed Jerome is so wondrous that even [his] pictures are so powerful that when they appear the demon will fear and tremble. If any body is obsessed by a demon, as soon as it is displayed, the sacred image will dispel it [the demon]. Cyrillus wrote these words to Augustine. Holy father Jerome, pray for us). Cyrillus is Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem (probably an Italian Dominican), the author of an apocryphal letter to a Pseudo-Augustine that appeared in the early fourteenth century and tells of many miracles associated with Jerome pre- and postmortem. The forged letter appeared in many manuscript and printed editions by the end of the fifteenth century. See Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 49; 63; 218–9, ns.1, 2; 223, n.32. For the text of the letter, see *PL* 22:289–326. Pseudo-Cyril's letter includes a passage that could be the original source of the text included in the Munich woodcut and written above the Frankfurt metalcut: "Mira res, Augustine (ut multiplicibus patet exemplis) tantus gloriosi Hieronymi timor diabolo inest, ut etiam suae picturae non audeat apparere. Nam si cui obsesso corpori pretiosa demonstratur imago, ab eodem continuo diabolus effugatur." See *PL* 22:310.

45. Sarnow and Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Kupferstiche*, 16, no. 22.

46. Bredehorn and Powitz, *Mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 123.

47. Rice, *Saint Jerome*, ch. 3, "The Cult," 49–83.

48. Rice, *Saint Jerome*, 59.

49. On the origins of the iconography of Jerome and the Lion, see Greta Ring, "St. Jerome Extracting the Thorn from the Lion's Foot," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 188–94, plus figs. Beyond a strictly devotional use of images of Jerome, Ring makes no mention of other functions for his image.

50. Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300–1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 36, 94.

51. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 424; Sarnow and Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Kupferstiche*, 7, no. 1, pl. 1.

52. The holes in the corners of the print are clearly manmade; they are not the random wormholes that are often present in prints glued into books.

53. See Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, ch. 8: "The Magic of Circles and Spheres," 170–85, esp. 170; and Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (1909; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck-

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 2:573. Franz describes an exorcism ritual using a circle and a cross with magic names.

54. On the monastic use of prints, see Peter Schmidt's article in this volume of *Studies in Iconography*, as well as his 1995 dissertation, published as *Gedruckte Bilder und handgeschriebene Büchern: Studien zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2002); and Schmidt, "L'usage de la gravure aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles au couvent d'Unterlinden," in *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden* (Colmar: Musée d'Unterlinden, 2000), 226–47.

55. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 179 (Cim 33). For the dating of the manuscript to ca. 1530, see Richard Schmidbauer, *Einzel-Formschnitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Staats-, Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 18 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1909), 7, no. 1. Schmidbauer's date is based partly on the mention of two popes in the text: on fol. 131, Pope Hadrian VI (1522–23), and on fol. 137, Pope Clement VII (1523–34). The manuscript includes other images not discussed in this article: a tiny woodcut of St. Catherine glued to the inside back cover (See Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1335) and two paintings of the Veronica veil on small pieces of paper glued in a margin and to the inside back cover. There is also evidence of a lost flip-up woodcut that was pasted to the top of fol. 1031v.

56. *The Works of Bonaventure: Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor, and Saint*, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1960), 1:95–144. The text in the Augsburg manuscript includes about half of the division headings in *The Tree of Life*.

57. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 71a; and Schmidbauer, *Einzel-Formschnitte*, 7, no. 1.

58. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 899a; Schmidbauer, *Einzel-Formschnitte*, 7–8, no. 2.

59. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 664a; Schmidbauer, *Einzel-Formschnitte*, 8, no. 3.

60. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 452; Schmidbauer, *Einzel-Formschnitte*, 8, no. 4.

61. This particular woodcut was not catalogued by Schreiber, but it is the same as those examples cited in Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 932a. Schmidbauer's catalogue does not mention this woodcut.

62. As far as I know, there is no complete version of this print surviving. The original composition may have been similar to several other woodcuts of the Crucifixion; see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, nos. 467–70, 957, 957a and b, and *957c. For no. *957c, see Karl Rebe, *Einblattholzschnitte aus Öffentlichen Sammlungen in Dresden, München, Nürnberg, Stuttgart und Neresheim*, Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts 96 (Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1939), no. 8, pl. 8. For a reproduction of no. 467, see *Die Frühzeit des Holzschnitts* (Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1970), no. 32 and fig. 12.

63. Proceeding up Christ's body, the full list of labeled parts includes: the right and left (dextra and sinister) foot (pes) labeled "a" and "b," the right and left shinbone (tibia, c and d), the right and left knee (genu, e and f), the right and left hipbone (coxa, g and h), the right and left thigh (femur, i and k), the belly (venter, l), the back (dorsum, m), the right and left arm (bracchium, n and o), the right and left side (latus, p and q), the neck (collum, r), the nape of the neck (cervix, s), the face (facies, t), the eyes (oculi, u), the crown (corona, x), and the top of head (vertex, y).

64. On the medieval use of images and diagrams as mnemonic aids, especially as part of Franciscan, Benedictine, and Dominican spirituality, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), esp. ch. 8, 173–98, and fig. 7 (a tree diagram); and Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Also see Fritz Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82–137; and John B. Friedman, "Les images mnémotechniques dans les manuscrits de l'epoque gothique," in *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie*

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

médiévale, ed. Bruno Roy and Paul Zumthor (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal, 1985), 169–84.

65. Béatrice Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1990), 182–3, cat. no. 34. Also, a Tree of Life diagram that combines Bonaventure's text with an image of a tree and Christ crucified is included in the *De Lisle Psalter* (ca. 1339); see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*, 2nd ed. (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 60, pl. 14.

66. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 20021, fol. 19v. For the woodcut see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 435d; and Leidinger, *Einzel-Holzschnitte*, 1:10, no. 6, pl. 6.

67. For the text, see *PL* 184:1319–24.

68. See Areford, "Passion Measured," esp. 214–9.

69. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 4425. See *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae regiae Monacensis* 1.2 (Munich, 1894), 196. According to the library catalogue, parts of the manuscript date to the fifteenth century. The Bonaventure texts include *Itinerarium mentis in deum* (*The Journey of the Mind to God*), fol. 1r; *De nouem ascensionis gradibus* (*The Nine Progressive Steps*), fol. 123r, which is a section of *De triplici via alias incendium amoris* (*The Triple Way or Love Enkindled*); and parts of the *Lignum vitae* (*The Tree of Life*), fols. 155v–163v. See *Works of Bonaventure*, 1:1–58, 89–90, and 95–144.

70. Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 932a. Schreiber describes these woodcuts as depictions of Christ "alone," not mentioning that they are cut out of multi-figured compositions. The cut-out woodcuts are pasted to fols. 65v, 77r, 81r, 97r, 102v, 116r, 135v, 140v, 147v, 152r, 153v, 155v, 164v, 239v. Not discussed in this article are a fold-out diagram inserted after fol. 134 and three sixteenth-century prints (Nativity, Circumcision, and Adoration of the Magi) inserted as flaps overlapping fol. 156v.

71. The notion that Christ's entire body was wounded "from the sole of the foot unto the top of the head" was considered a fulfilment of a prophecy in Isaiah 1:6. See James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk:Van Ghemmert, 1979), 47–50.

72. "sub quibus comprehenduntur et alia 5455 vulnera tot enim vulnera pro nobis Jesus Cristus passus est ut habetur in Revelacione Sancte Birgitte" (in which are included all the other 5455 wounds, all the wounds that Jesus Christ suffered for us as we have in the Revelations of St. Birgitta) (fol. 165r). It was believed that Christ told St. Birgitta of Sweden (d.1373) that through the daily recitation of fifteen Pater Nosters and/or Ave Marias, in a year she would have worshiped all of his wounds (i.e., 15x365=5,475). Thus, here when the twenty wounds are added to the 5,455 wounds, the total is 5,475. See Areford, "Passion Measured," 217; and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 254–5.

73. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 143–4. Also, for a recent exploration of the impact of the art of memory on the construction and even the style of late medieval images, see Peter Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 456–72.

74. In the case of the abbey of St. Ulrich and Afra, there is evidence of an increase in text production, particularly in humanistic works. Significantly, there is also evidence of a workshop for printing texts on the premises of the monastery in the late fifteenth century, although whether printed images were produced is not known. See Rolf Schmidt, *Reichenau und St. Gallen: Ihre literarische Überlieferung zur Zeit des Klosterhumanismus in St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg um 1500* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1985), esp. 56–65.

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

75. On monastic reform and its goals, see Peter Schmidt's essay in this volume of *Studies in Iconography*; and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, esp. ch. 9, "The Reformation of Vision: Art and the Dominican Observance in Late Medieval Germany," which concerns Dominican reformers and their control of images, including the production of standardized paintings of holy figures.

76. Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," esp. 461–2 and 469.

77. On fols. 77r, 81r, 135v, 140v, 147v, 152r, 153v, 155v, 164v.

78. The skull is also included in the woodcut pasted in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 179. (See Fig. 15.)

79. On the skull of Adam at the base of the cross, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 2.2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), 488–9.

80. The text on fol. 239v reads: "In ista cruce comprehenduntur breviter omnia beneficia dei que deus omnipotens homini exhibuit et cum quibus eum redemit a morte eterna et revocavit ad vitam perpetuam ponuntur eciam ibidem meditaciones de virtutibus Jesu cristi quibus nos ornauit et decoravit et lamentaciones super peccata quibus homo peccator domini [sic] suum offendit et iterum crucifixit et de ploracio exilii nostri et omni [sic] malorum in quibus incurrimus propter peccata nostra et infine premia iustorum que deus daturus est electis dei."

University of North Carolina, Greensboro

This content downloaded from
134.10.51.251 on Thu, 19 May 2022 03:13:05 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms